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Mamie Eisenhower as First Lady:

Media Coverage of a Silent Partner

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Abstract

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Coverage of Mamie Eisenhower as First Lady illustrates difficulties which the media has in projecting images of women. Like many women in the news, she was noteworthy because of her satellite status in relation to a man. Exercising some control over her public portrayal -- if only to refuse to see the press to the extent it desired -- she deliberately chose to present herself within the framework of sex-role stereotyping instead of presenting herself as a flesh-and-blood human being. To the degree the press joined with her to present her in stereotypical terms raises the question of whether it was held captive by its own assumptions concerning the role of women.

Mamie Eisenhower as First Lady:

Media Coverage of a Silent Partner

Mamie Eisenhower, wife of the 34th President of the United States, presided over the White House from 1953 to 1961 during an era generally looked back on as a time of equanimity after the stresses of the post-World War II period. The apparent quietude of the period was deceptive, masking social currents that welled up into the activism of the succeeding decade.[1] Nevertheless, as projected to the nation via the media of her day, predominantly the press, Mrs. Eisenhower herself helped symbolize the surface complacency of her husband's administration. She appeared to be the quintessential political wife, waving graciously and smiling at her husband's side. In public she embodied the traditional role expected of most American women during the 1950s - to be, above all, a devoted wife.

Mamie Eisenhower predated the era of professional image-making for First Ladies. As her obituary expressed it, she always was "content to be regarded primarily as a self-effacing helpmate rather than an influential behind-the-scenes adviser."[2] Yet by virtue of being First Lady,

Mrs. Eisenhower was called upon to play a visible part in her husband's administration. This paper attempts to examine her performance as a public figure as measured by the media and to analyze the tensions involved between Mrs. Eisenhower's desire for personal privacy, on the one hand, and her wish to assist her husband, on the other, by performing in the public sphere.

Involved in this unstable equation were the reporters who covered the First Lady, chiefly women assigned to women's pages and society news. The task of deciding how much the public was told about Mrs. Eisenhower - and indeed, how much the public had a right to know about her - rested mainly with these individuals and their editors. Consequently the press coverage of Mrs. Eisenhower merits attention for at least two reasons: (1) It provides insight into 1950s ideas of news coverage of women by showing what reporters thought was or was not appropriate material for the media in the case of Mrs. Eisenhower, and (2) it offers an opportunity to examine what molders of public opinion depicted as representing appropriate performance by a First Lady. Since the attention customarily given a First Lady makes her somewhat of a role for American women, by examining press

coverage of Mrs. Eisenhower, scholars can enlarge their understanding of what was considered acceptable conduct for women in general during the 1950s.

Unfortunately Mrs. Eisenhower's papers are not open to researchers at this time, but information on her portrayal in the press has been obtained from newspaper and magazine articles, biographical accounts and the papers and memoirs of journalists who covered her. Other references have been located in the diary of James C. Hagerty, Eisenhower's press secretary. Printed material has been supplemented by personal interviews with journalists who knew Mrs. Eisenhower.[3] In addition, Mary Jane McCaffree Monroe, who handled press relations in her capacity as Mrs. Eisenhower's social secretary, has provided details on Mrs. Eisenhower's views of the press.[4]

Aside from her marriage to one of the most outstanding figures of the mid-twentieth century, the facts of Mamie Eisenhower's life were not exceptional. Born on Nov. 14, 1896, in Boone, Iowa, Marie Geneva Doud - called Mamie from birth - was one of four daughters of a well-to-do meat packer, John S. Doud, and his wife, Elivera. Moving with her family to Denver, Mamie Doud ended her formal education at Miss Wolcott's finishing school there and

became one of the city's most sought-after belles. On a visit to San Antonio, Texas, in 1915, she met Dwight David Eisenhower, then a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. The couple was married on July 1, 1916, over the protests of her father, who thought his daughter was marrying beneath her station.[5]

The marriage spanned 53 years, including the death of their first child, Doud Dwight, in 1920 when he was three years old, and some twenty moves in this country and abroad as Eisenhower rose in the military to become the nation's most popular general during World War II, later assuming the presidency of Columbia University and being named head of NATO. Her only surviving child, John, became an Army officer like his father. Outliving her husband by 12 years, Mrs. Eisenhower suffered a heart attack at the family farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the only home she and her husband ever owned, in September 1979, and died a few weeks later, on Nov. 1 - shortly before her 83rd birthday.

But just as the seeming placidity of the Eisenhower years concealed a realistic picture of American society, beneath the conventional surface of Mrs. Eisenhower's life lay rumors of scandal that hovered about her for years.

They began during World War II when Eisenhower was in Europe as Supreme Allied Commander and she was living alone in a Washington hotel. Reports that Mrs. Eisenhower drank excessively circulated on the Washington scene, particularly after other persistent rumors cropped up that Eisenhower planned to divorce her to marry an Englishwoman, Kay Summersby, who had acted as his chauffeur and secretary during the war.[6]

Consequently at the time Eisenhower was being pushed as a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1952, Mrs. Eisenhower was considered something of a questionable asset. Supporters of his chief rival for the nomination, Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft, circulated stories about Mrs. Eisenhower's alleged drinking, as well as smear brochures alluding to Eisenhower's alleged love affair with Summersby.[7] Merriman Smith, a correspondent for United Press, recalled in an oral history interview standing near Eisenhower when a delegate to the Republican National convention came up to the general and said, "...we're worried about your wife?....We hear she's a drunk." According to Smith, Eisenhower, holding his temper by an heroic effort, blandly replied, "Well, I know that story has gone around, but the truth of the matter is that I don't think Mamie's had a drink for something like eighteen months."[8]

Smith did not write about the incident. Today, in an era when one former First Lady, Betty Ford, publicly has announced that she has a drinking problem, it is likely that the delegate's question and Eisenhower's response would be front-page news. But during the 1950s it was considered in poor taste to print such material and the question of Mrs. Eisenhower's drinking was never publicly addressed, although rumors of her alleged alcoholism continued throughout the Eisenhower administration, cropping up repeatedly in connection with newspaper accounts referring to her health. The first public refutation was given by Mrs. Eisenhower herself in 1973 when she told Barbara Walter during a television interview she had known for years that people said that "I'm a dipsomaniac," explaining she had an inner-ear ailment that caused her to occasionally walk unsteadily.[9]

Of even more interest to the anti-Eisenhower press was the rumor regarding Ike's relations with Summersby, a story some reporters pursued vigorously but were not able to pin down. For example, Walter Trohan, a correspondent for the Chicago Tribune, which backed Taft for the Presidential nomination, unsuccessfully sought to obtain the diary of Gen. George S. Patton.[10] The diary supposedly

contained a copy of a message from Eisenhower delivered by Patton to Summersby informing her Eisenhower had decided not to divorce his wife. Throughout her life Mrs. Eisenhower never commented in public on the Summersby story, although her son, John, compiled a book of letters from his father to his mother, titled Letters to Mamie, in 1978 to disprove charges of infidelity.

Because of the rumors that surrounded her, Mrs. Eisenhower could have been depicted as something of a passive martyr, holding on to her husband in spite of his shabby treatment of her and submitting to an unwelcome fate which thrust her into the limelight.[11] Coverage of her, however, emphasized positive aspects, such as her bubbling personality and spontaneous charm. Still she had little initial interest in the White House. Her granddaughter-in-law, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, noted, "When in 1952, Ike chose a way of life that would mean permanent fame and entail constant press attention...Mamie was not enthusiastic. She had never been an ambitious woman."[12] Nor had she ever been interested in politics. She had not voted in a national election before 1948, indicating both her disinterest in political affairs and her view that her husband's military status removed them both from political participation.[13] As far

as is known, she never endeavored to give Eisenhower political advice.

Thus Mrs. Eisenhower was relatively unaccustomed to and unprepared for her dealings with the news media during Eisenhower's first Presidential campaign in 1952, although she had experienced some contact with women reporters during her war years in Washington. Malvina Stephenson, then a correspondent for the Kansas City Star, recalled 40 years later that Mrs. Eisenhower had been friendly and open when approached for interviews during this period, providing light vignettes about the Eisenhower family for the Star, which took a special interest in the general because his boyhood home was in Abilene, Kansas.[14] According to Stephenson, Mrs. Eisenhower became far more aloof and inaccessible after she entered the White House.[15]

Dealing with the press en masse, rather than with a single reporter, proved a taxing experience for Mrs. Eisenhower, although by contemporary accounts she handled herself well. Her first encounter with the press corps offered a baptism by fire. Scheduled to meet some 75 women reporters at an off-the-record reception during the Republican national convention in July 1952, she found herself the center of a brawling mob as men reporters invaded

the room and tangled with women reporters accompanied by photographers, who were determined to get close to her.[16] Nevertheless she still managed to answer questions on topics such as whether the general whistled when he shaved and how often she took care of her grandchildren.[17]

During the campaign, conducted primarily by train, Mrs. Eisenhower was mentioned positively, if rather infrequently, as a help to her husband in attracting voters. Life magazine proclaimed "Ike's unassuming wife has become a bright star on the back platform show."[18] Life reporter Robert Wallace found she magnetized crowds and quoted the New York Times's top political reporter, James Reston, as estimating, "Mamie must be worth at least 50 electoral votes."[19] In contrast to the family scene presented by Eisenhower and his wife, Eisenhower's Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson, who was divorced, had no helpmate at his side to woo voters.

Noting with approval Mamie Eisenhower's disinclination to make headlines, Life compared her favorably with the current First Lady. "She will have all the highly commendable dignity of Bess Truman enlivened with a touch of Ethel Merman on the side," Wallace wrote, referring to Mrs. Eisenhower's folksy manner, youthful hair style - bangs

were her trademark - and "attractiveness and humor."[20] By omission the staunchly Republican magazine avoided comparing Mrs. Eisenhower with the activist Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Truman's predecessor, who had used the position of First Lady to push for humanitarian reforms and who had been seen as a person in her own right. Indeed, a caption under a picture of her in Life summed up the prevailing tone of campaign coverage of Mrs. Eisenhower: "She sits quietly and always pays close attention to her husband's speech."[21]

For the most part, Mrs. Eisenhower was portrayed in the press as personification of the feminine mystique, serving as ideal copy for women's pages and magazines which promoted the image that she had, as she put it, "only one career and its name is Ike."[22] Feature stories focused on her interest in clothes and acting as a hostess. As an example of what it billed as Mrs. Eisenhower's "mind of her own," for example, the Women's Home Companion revealed Mrs. Eisenhower's preference for public beauty parlors in preference to private hairdressing sessions.[23] It added that Mrs. Eisenhower had "neither Mrs. Roosevelt's physical stamina nor cultural preparation," although it noted, "Yet she will never be content to emulate the quiet

manner of Bess Truman...."[24]

After Eisenhower's smashing victory carried her into the White House in 1952, Mrs. Eisenhower initially attempted to play a somewhat more active role than Mrs. Truman, who had refused to hold press conferences and was rarely heard from in public. Within two months of the inauguration, Mrs. Eisenhower held a press conference, reinstituting a custom begun by Eleanor Roosevelt. Unlike Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Eisenhower allowed men as well as women reporters to cover the event, although the Secret Service laid down a "ladies first" rule requiring the 41 men to let the 37 women precede them into the room and only one man reporter asked a question.[25] Video cameras were on hand, making the event the first press conference of a First Lady to be shown on the then-new medium of television.

It is doubtful the subject matter excited reporters of either sex. Mrs. Eisenhower, after posing for photographers, read a list of her planned activities and announced plans to revive the White House Easter egg roll and to spend Easter with her grandchildren. Most of the conference was devoted to answering questions about changes in White House living arrangements to suit the preferences of the Eisenhowers. Perhaps the most poignant note came

when Mrs. Eisenhower volunteered she had opened the white glass curtains which covered the White House windows - so she could see outside.[26]

Evidence exists that in some ways Mrs. Eisenhower did feel confined as First Lady. Although the press conference was hailed as a success - Bess Furman of the New York Times, for example, said Mrs. Eisenhower "demonstrated complete self-possession and a good grasp of the complex First Lady role" - Mrs. Eisenhower never held another one.[27] According to her secretary, Mary Jane McCaffree Monroe, Mrs. Eisenhower did not enjoy the experience.[28] In addition, Mrs. Monroe said, Mrs. Eisenhower's mother, Mrs. John Doud, who stayed at the White House, cautioned her daughter against being too much in the public eye, believing that it was unladylike for a woman, even if she was First Lady, to be a public figure apart from her husband.[29]

"Mrs. Eisenhower didn't like being asked questions and being put on the spot," Mrs. Monroe recalled.[30] Consequently Mrs. Eisenhower delegated to her the responsibility of seeing the press, first once a week and later less frequently, to make announcements and to release the social calendar. "She told me to cut it (press contact) down," Mrs. Monroe said. "Her mother lived with her & she didn't

want too much publicity."[31] Yet, Mrs. Monroe remembered, Mrs. Eisenhower, known for her piquant, heart-shaped face and engaging smile, enjoyed being photographed and entertaining guests and liked having her activities as a hostess publicized.[32] Unlike other family members she did not try to dissuade Eisenhower from seeking a second term following his first heart attack in 1955.

It was an era, unlike today, when a First Lady was not expected to show she was interested in worthy causes. As Julie Nixon Eisenhower put it, "If Mamie Eisenhower were First Lady today, she would be a fish out of water, subject to pressure - which she would have resisted - to be involved in First Lady projects, to project a proscribed image."[33] She kept aloof from reporters and rarely gave interviews, which were foreign to what her granddaughter-in-law called her come-sit-on-the-couch-and-chat-with-me nature."[34]

By the standards of today, when the press prides itself on vigorous journalism, reporters of the period appear somewhat lethargic in giving Mrs. Eisenhower bland coverage. According to Maxine Cheshire, then a reporter for the Washington Post, "No First Lady was ever as gently treated in print as Mamie Eisenhower."[35] Cheshire

attributed this to an "Emily Post approach to reporting about the occupants of the White House," which characterized the 1950s.[36] Her biggest story about Mrs. Eisenhower for the Post was a "scoop" on locating the place where the First Lady bought evening slippers at a discount to have them dyed to match her gowns.[37]

In the opinion of both Cheshire and Jack Anderson, then Drew Pearson's assistant in the investigative column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," the press should have raised questions about Mrs. Eisenhower's acceptance of gifts from foreign governments. According to Anderson, "when Drew made so bold as to tweak Mamie Eisenhower for latching on to a diamond necklace from King Ibn Saud and a gold mesh bag from Emperor Haile Selassie so heavy she could hardly carry it around, the stories died the quick death of press neglect."[38] Similarly, a Pearson story about the alleged influence-peddling of Mrs. Eisenhower's brother-in-law was quickly forgotten. Anderson attributed this to the "pro-Eisenhower" tilt of 80 per cent of the press.[39]

Due partly to the rumors about her drinking, the press showed more interest in Mrs. Eisenhower's health than in other aspects of her performance as First Lady. Fifty-seven

years old when her husband was elected President, Mrs. Eisenhower was plagued by a heart murmur and subscribed to the theory "that every woman over 50 should stay in bed until noon."[40] Accustomed to dealing with servants from her childhood days in Denver, Mrs. Eisenhower ran the White House from her bedroom, giving orders to staff members as she reclined in pink, ruffled bed jackets during the morning hours.[41] This picture of Mrs. Eisenhower as a ruling matriarch was not presented to the public, which saw her as something she definitely was not - a prototype Mrs. Average America, who was like a congenial suburban housewife.[42]

If reporters provided a mistaken impression of her, they may be excused in part by their inability to obtain accurate information after she curtailed press contacts, following the example of Mrs. Truman. In the opinion of some reporters, her secretary was far too protective of the First Lady.[43] According to Isabelle Shelton, who covered the White House for the Washington Star, the secretary "didn't even give out weekly releases. With her it was sort of a catch-as-catch-can thing in which you had to ask the right questions or lose the game."[44] Mrs. Monroe, on the other hand, saw her job as serving as "a buffer

between Mrs. Eisenhower and the press."[45]

Eisenhower's able press secretary, James Hagerty, became involved in Mrs. Eisenhower's press relations only on rare occasions, chiefly those related to questions about her health. In March, 1955, Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, declared that Eisenhower might decline to run for a second term because of newspaper reports that Mrs. Eisenhower's health was poor. Consulting Eisenhower on the comment, Hagerty decided not to answer the statement but to let Republicans in Congress denounce Butler for smearing the First Lady, which they promptly did.[46] The next month Hagerty, responding to Eisenhower's concern over the issue, suggested that reporters not be told Mrs. Eisenhower was ill at the home in Gettysburg.[47] "...I merely stuck to the story that she was at the farmhouse with some work in connection with furniture and things moving in," he noted in his diary.[48] Concern over Mrs. Eisenhower's health reached the point where the President finally was forced to address the subject at a press conference, remarking, "She is, of course, not as robust and strong as some people, but she is a good healthy person...."[49]

During the 1956 re-election campaign and subsequent second term, press coverage of Mrs. Eisenhower continued

in the same vein as during the first term. Bess Furman reported in the New York Times that Mrs. Eisenhower opened her second four years in the White House "with the situation well in hand" - in terms of ample rest, meticulous grooming (by this time she called hairdressers to come to the White House) and an extensive wardrobe.[50] In 1957 Mrs. Eisenhower participated in two events for Washington newswomen - a birthday party in her honor given by two clubs made up of women reporters and a subsequent tea for the press to express appreciation for the birthday party.[51] The previous year she received copious attention in women's pages across the country in connection with donating her personal fudge recipe to the Women's National Press Club for inclusion in a club cookbook.

Coverage took a more critical turn the following year when Eisenhower's plane made a 3,000-mile detour to take Mrs. Eisenhower and several of her friends to Elizabeth Arden's health farm in Phoenix, Arizona. With security restrictions in place, Mrs. Eisenhower once again was rumored to be under treatment for alcoholism. Although the issue was not raised publicly, even the pro-Eisenhower press questioned the trip. Time magazine asked, "Was Mamie getting the full waxworks?....The White House and the Arden

empire clammed up tight."[52] The incident soon faded from public concern.

When Mamie Eisenhower left the White House in 1961, the Washington Post summed up her tenure in a story typical of those run on the departing First Lady: "...She has been a gracious and glamorous hostess, entertaining some 70 official foreign visitors - more than any of her predecessors - and doing it on a grander scale....Mrs. Eisenhower has endeared herself to millions by her devotion to her husband and family...."[53] Like others, the story depicted her as doting on her four grandchildren, frequent visitors to the White House.

In summary, coverage of Mamie Eisenhower as First Lady illustrates difficulties which the media has in projecting images of women. Like many women who have figured in the news, Mamie Eisenhower was noteworthy because of her satellite status in relation to a man of prestige and power.[54] Exercising some control over her public portrayal - if only to refuse to see the press to the extent it desired - Mrs. Eisenhower deliberately chose to present herself within the full array of sex-role stereotyping. In her case it was a way of defending herself against vicious rumors regarding her character and marriage. It also allowed her

to function quietly within the framework of her husband's political communication program, symbolizing the subordinate status of women then being popularized by the mass media but soon to be attacked by Betty Friedan. Yet Mrs. Eisenhower's media portrayal disguised a flesh-and-blood human being, said by intimates to be a forceful personality in her own right.[55] To the degree the press joined with her to picture her in stereotypical terms raises the question of whether the media is held captive by its own assumptions - in this case assumptions concerning the suitable role for women during the 1950s.[56]

In the 1950s it still was possible for the public to accept a First Lady who restrained her activities to providing hostess service in the White House, in spite of the energetic example of political activism set by Eleanor Roosevelt. Like Bess Truman, Mamie Eisenhower reverted back to the pattern of nineteenth-century First Ladies who saw their duties as social and were covered in the press only in those terms.[57] Mrs. Eisenhower was succeeded by the glamorous Jackie Kennedy, who added to the public role of the First Lady by her interest in promoting the arts. After her other First Ladies were virtually forced by political expediency, if not personal

preference, to have pet projects - beautification (Lady Bird Johnson), volunteerism (Pat Nixon), the EPA (Betty Ford), mental health (Rosalyn Carter), foster grandparents (Nancy Reagan).

In retrospect Mamie Eisenhower's kid-glove treatment by the media represented a throwback to a previous era. The press delicately avoided any mention of the gossip that surrounded her, although it might have performed a service by bringing into the open, and laying to rest, the rumors of her drinking. By not providing an honest treatment of Mrs. Eisenhower as a human being, the media failed to present an accurate portrayal of her, even though she herself wanted to be pictured only as a hostess and self-effacing wife. For both Mrs. Eisenhower and the reporters who covered her, the prevailing feminine mystique provided a handy, but accurate, stereotype behind which they hid in declining to deal openly with the public.

Footnotes

[1]William H. Chafe and Harvard Sitkott, eds., A History of Our Times: Readings on Postwar America (New York: Oxford, 1983), p. 75.

[2]Albin Krebs, "Mamie Eisenhower Dies in Sleep at 82 in Hospital in Washington," New York Times, Nov. 2, 1979, p. 1.

[3]The author of this paper is indebted, in particular, to Malvina Stephenson of the Stephenson News Bureau, for discussing her recollections of Mrs. Eisenhower on Oct. 27, 1983, at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C.

[4]The author of this paper would like to thank Mary Jane McCaffree Monroe, for providing a detailed look at Mrs. Eisenhower's press relations on Nov. 19, 1983, at the Washington Club, Washington, D.C.

[5]Krebs, "Mamie Eisenhower Dies in Sleep at 82 in Hospital in Washington," p. B5.

[6]Lester and Irene David, Ike and Mamie: The Story of the General and His Lady (New York: Putnam's, 1981), pp. 160-61.

[7]Steven Neal, The Eisenhowers: Reluctant Dynasty (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978), p. 281.

[8]Oral history interview with Merriman Smith, Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas, as cited in Stephen Ambrose, Eisenhower, Soldier, General (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983), p. 532.

[9]Krebs, "Mamie Eisenhower Dies in Sleep at 82 in Hospital in Washington," p. B5.

[10]Walter Trohan, Political Animals (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978), p. 270.

[11]Gladys Engel Lang, "The Most Admired Woman: Image-Making in the News," in Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet, editors, Hearth & Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 151.

[12]Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Special People (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977), p. 202.

[13]Rita Mae Kelly & Mary Boutilier, The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978), p. 101.

[14]Interview with Malvina Stephenson, Oct. 27, 1983.

[15]Stephenson interview.

[16]Dorothy Brandon, "Mamie Doud Eisenhower: Portrait of a First Lady," New York Herald Tribune, n. d. (believed to be April 28, 1954), vertical file on Mamie Doud Eisenhower, Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas. The clipping is the 26th in a series condensing a book by Brandon, Mamie Doud Eisenhower: Portrait of a First Lady.

[17]Brandon, "Mamie Doud Eisenhower: Portrait of a First Lady," n. d. (believed to be April 28, 1954).

[18]Robert Wallace, "They Like Mamie, Too," Life, Oct. 13, 1952, p. 149.

[19]Wallace, "They Like Mamie, Too," p. 150.

[20]Wallace, "They Like Mamie, Too," pp. 150, 158.

[21]Wallace, "They Like Mamie, Too," p. 158.

[22]Lang, "The Most Admired Woman: Image-Making in the News," p. 152.

[23]Nanette Kutner, "Mamie in the White House," Woman's Home Companion, July 1953, p. 24.

[24]Kutner, "Mamie in the White House,"p. 82.

[25]Bess Furman, draft of news story sent to the New York Times, March 11, 1953, Box 40, Furman papers, Library of Congress.

[26]Furman, draft of news story sent to the New York Times, March 11, 1953.

[27]Bess Furman, draft of news story sent to the New York Times, Aug. 7, 1953, Box 40, Furman papers.

[28]Interview with Mary Jane McCaffree Monroe, Nov. 19, 1983.

[29]Monroe interview.

[30]Monroe interview.

[31]Monroe interview.

[32]Monroe interview.

[33]Eisenhower, Special People, p. 203.

[34]Eisenhower, Special People, p. 203.

[35]Maxine Cheshire with John Greenya, Maxine Cheshire, Reporter (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), p. 30.

[36]Cheshire, Maxine Cheshire, Reporter, p. 28.

[37]Cheshire, Maxine Cheshire, Reporter, p. 28.

[38]Jack Anderson with James Boyd, Confessions of a Muckraker (New York: Ballentine, 1979), p. 320.

[39]Anderson, Confessions of a Muckraker, p. 320.

[40]J. B. West with Mary Lynn Kotz, Upstairs at the White House: My Life with the First Ladies (New York: Warner, 1974), p. 175.

[41]West, Upstairs at the White House, p. 129.

[42]West, Upstairs at the White House, p. 131.

[43]Winzola McLendon & Scottie Smith, Don't Quote Me: Washington Newswomen & the Power Society (New York: Dutton, 1970), p. 68.

[44]McLendon & Smith, Don't Quote Me, p. 68.

[45]Monroe interview.

[46]Diary of James C. Hagerty, entry for March 10, 1955, Box 1A, Hagerty papers, Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas.

[47]Hagerty diary, entry for April 4, 1955, Box 1A, Hagerty papers.

[48]Hagerty diary, entry for April 4, 1955.

[49]Text of President Eisenhower's press conference, New York Times, May 5, 1955, p. 20.

[50]Bess Furman, draft of news story sent to the New York Times, Jan. 20, 1957, Box 40, Furman papers.

[51]Lewis L. Gould, "First Ladies and the Press: Bess Truman to Lady Bird Johnson," American Journalism I (Summer 1983) p. 52.

[52]"The First Lady: Behind the Curtain," Time 78 (March 10, 1958) p. 14.

[53]Marie Smith, "Mamie Was Original, Fun-Loving Hostess," Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1961, F1, 9.

[54]Lang, "The Most Admired Woman: Image-Making in the News," p. 148.

[55]Gould, "First Ladies and the Press," p. 51.

[56]Introduction to section three, "Newspapers and their Women's Pages," in Tuchman, Daniels and Benet, Hearth & Home, p. 143.

[57]Abigail Q. McCarthy, "ER As First Lady," in Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman, eds., Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 220.